

Plate X

342



Tent belonging to the aménokal of the Kel Ahaggar. It has eight poles inside, and the awning is made of 60 skins sewn together. The separate poles in the foreground are used to hold up the asaber in the evening.

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The tent is always set up by the women, mainly by servants. They make holes in the ground to put the pole in, then pile sand around it. When the pole is in place, the skin is attached by a thong.

3/2 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are redir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

[281] The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cowhide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

322 Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture, 531 pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dāg Rāli, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

[184] The other model is now used only among the Agouh-en-Tēhlé. It appears that the Kel Ahnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed. / roots joined by a

- 342 crosspiece forming the central frame; four vertical stakes are placed two by two on each side of the tent.

[17] This model used to be much more widespread in the Ahaggar, and it seems to be an older form, for the model presently used must have been taken from the Ioulimiden. All the old people recall having seen it used in their youth in all camps on an equal basis with the vertical stake form.

The tent with arches, the upper part of which forms a kind of dome, is better able to withstand the rains than the other. If that was its *raison d'être*, we may understand why it disappeared with the gradual drying out of the Sahara. This disappearance may also have been caused by the difficulty of procuring large roots to make the arches.

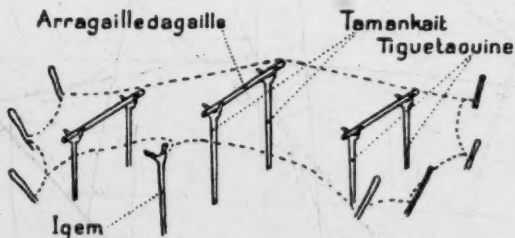


Fig. 25. Tent used by the Kel Rela. During the rainy season, the two central stakes are replaced by a single stake holding up a ridge tile.

[386] The awning is always covered with a coat of red ocher which protects it from the heat of the sun and from the rain.

[285] In both models, the tent always includes a sort of detachable closing made of a long mat (*asaber*) woven from the stems of graminaceae. It is unrolled inside around the stakes to close the tent completely. High up in the mountains the Tuareg reduce the inside area of the tent in order to keep warmer, and provide the part opposite /225/ the opening with a little stone wall which effectively protects them from the cold. The door is always opened toward the south.

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of.

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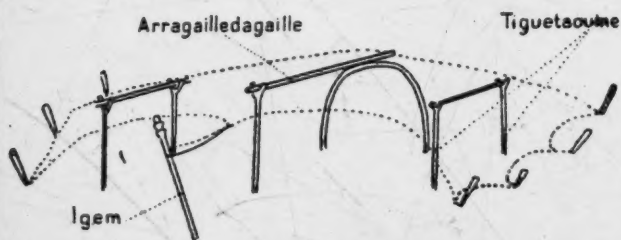


Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks.

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[187]

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth.

[127]

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents.

[462]

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily.

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412 Each mistress of a tent has a little

356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally  
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby  
wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses,  
and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may  
realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,  
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are  
462 left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the  
asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;  
565 only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in  
moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/

### Chapter 3

#### Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding  
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they  
live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone  
would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea,  
béchéna (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in  
the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

552 The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during  
484 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in  
the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

[101] It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-  
ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the  
wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other  
North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one  
of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

312 include a first subterranean part made of numerous wells of depths varying from two to four meters, linked together by a small canal serving as a water conductor; then comes a part on top of the ground in the form of a canal, first at the same level as the wadi, then at a slightly higher level. They empty into the distribution reservoirs (majem), which by secondary canals (seguia) carry water to the gardens to be irrigated.

311 These agricultural centers therefore extend along the wadi on  
361 both sides of its banks. The cultivators settle near their gardens  
[342] and live in straw or reed huts or little clay houses.

There are five centers in the high mountains between 1, 500 and 1, 800 meters in altitude, but the majority are located between 1, 200 and 1, 500 meters. Some of them can be lower, such as Silet (730 meters) and I-n-Amegel (1, 030 meters).

245 Some are small date groves such as Silet and Tibeghin, which have 10, 000 palm trees, Ideles, Tâhârt, and Âbalessa, but because of its altitude, the Ahaggar does not seem to be very suitable for date growing. The instability of the harratin is also an obstacle to the development of arboriculture which demands continual care. Cultivators who can be here today and gone tomorrow would not be capable of interesting themselves in work from which they could not draw immediate profit. The country would lend itself, however, to rather large-scale cultivation of peaches, /246/ apricots, figs, and grapes. The little center of Tâzerouk has many peach trees, and the center at Tit produces a famous raisin.

124 The Ahaggar soil is of a high quality, owing part of its richness to elements of volcanic origin which make up a large proportion of the alluvial deposits. Furthermore, the climate favors  
132 agriculture so much that the natives obtain two or even three harvests  
241 a year.

24 In the medium altitude centers, they sow wheat and barley in December and harvest it in May. Barely finished with this, they sow millet which is harvested at the beginning of October. In between the natives also engage in kitchen gardening: carrots,

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,  
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who  
[53] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is  
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the  
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her  
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The  
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

[492] /293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

182 and the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a nation, too stubborn to adapt themselves to any way of life other than their own, have at last signed their name to the ever-lengthening list of vanishing peoples.

342 Shelter. The typical dwelling of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a leather tent, made preferably of the skins of goats although sometimes those of sheep or even calves are used (fig. 36). A tent of mouflon skins is considered the height of luxury and elegance, but it is almost impossible to come by enough of them to make such a tent nowadays. The prepared skins are 281 very soft and have a pleasing dull red brick 342 color which is produced by rubbing them on both sides with a mixture of red ochreous clay and dried camel dung. After being prepared and cut down to rectangular form, they are sewed together with fine strips of leather. Anywhere from 30 to as many as 150 may be used to make a single tent, but the first number is not far below the average. A finished tent of ordinary size weighs about 50 pounds more or less.

342 Tents are mounted on wooden frames of various closely similar types, the most common of which consists of three elements, each composed of two uprights with a horizontal member laid across their tops. The highest element is set in the middle with one upright in front and the other in the back, and the two remaining elements are set up parallel to it, one on either side. The tent covering is then stretched over this framework, with its back and sides pegged down and the front left open, usually facing south. In good weather the overhanging front of the roof is stretched out horizontally to form an awning held in place by three supplementary posts, one in the middle and another at each end. The average tent is 6 to 10 feet deep from front to back, 10 to 15 feet wide and 4 to 5 feet high in the middle, with the roof sloping away very gently on both sides and toward the back wall. The structure is completed by [285] long strips of stiff, yellow matting made of 351 thin reeds, roughly 3 feet wide and up to 20 feet long more or less, with simple geometric designs in black or reddish brown leather ribbon woven into them. These strips are set on edge around the inside of the tent so as to make an inner wall at the back and sides,

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

562 Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself  
342 the men's place is on the right as you enter and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

352 Household furniture and effects include  
[439] sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons, wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe  
[415] an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of  
[412] different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush  
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, a). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tureg MS25  
[P. 251] Hoggar  
[Pp. 243-250 not processed]

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Fig. 36. a, A typical camp site and tent of the Ahaggar Tureg. b, A chief of the Ahaggar Tureg sits before his tent, camel whip in hand and surrounded by his family. (Photographs by Claude-Louis, courtesy of the Musée de l'Homme.)

At the end of mourning, the women of the camp lead the 765 widow out to see the sunrise; the Koran is held open before her and she is made to look at salt. Upon her return, she may dress as before and make herself pretty. A collection is taken [768] up for her. /25/

### Chapter XIII

#### Inheritance. Succession

Inheritance, "takasit" + ⵓⵔⵉⵙⵉⵜ , (from the verb 428 "ekkous, " to inherit) is of two kinds: political inheritance, if I may so express it, and private inheritance.

The first is the right to command and to the collection of the "riousse, " or tribute from the "imr'ad. " This is handed down according to the laws of inheritance of which we will speak later.

As to private inheritance, it is collected by the natural heirs according to Moslem laws of rights, which means that the son has a right to an amount double that of the daughter. The animals left as inheritance are assessed and are divided according to this assessment. These shares are then chosen by lot.

### Chapter XIV

#### The Home. The Tent

All the tents of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation 281 are made of the hides, "ilmaouen" | ⵉⵍⵎⴰⵓⵎⵉⵏ | , of goats or sheep, 342

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281]  
constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342  
called "ehakit" + . . .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called  
"tamankait" + . . .

A pole, "idjem" 3 1' , is placed at the entrance  
of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called  
"madar'en" 1 : V 3 . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the  
"tissedass" 3 V 3 + . The little pegs that hold the tent  
to the ground are called "tisselital" 4 + + 3 + . Some-  
times bows are also used, called "adjedjou" : 1' 1' .  
plural "idjedjan" 1' 1' 1'

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" : # I [285]  
(Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" 0 3 3 [24]  
plural "isebran" 1 0 3 3 , which are pulled back in the  
day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352  
is, waterskins, "abe'lor" : 4 4 , plural "ibiyar" 4 1 5  
: 4 4 ; hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" 1 : 3 1' + .  
They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" 4 1 4 3 ,  
plural "isegueffa", 1 1 4 3 . To water the camels, the 231  
Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and  
called "tafaraout" + : 0 1 1 + , plural "tiferouin" 1 : 0 1 1 + .  
They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toullout" grain 243  
(Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum  
turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415  
"tanouart" 3 : 1 + , plural "tinouarin" 1 0 : 1 + , and  
a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called  
"az'enou" : 1 # . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it,  
they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal"  
1 1 : 3 . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they  
have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the  
one called "tahattint" T + : + , but they also sometimes [281]  
use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

4: Benhazera--24G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25  
Hoggar

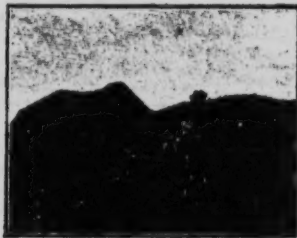
The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the (312) tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved 492 pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaout." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and 342 ● the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, 592 his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar" : X ] , and [192]  
a single tent "ehan" | : , plural "ehanan" / | :



Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet  
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

## Chapter XV

### Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called 264  
"tarout" + : 0 + . In the evening the Tuareg is

output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" 30: , plural "ir'ermane" 120: , have been built.

Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensable help of the Harratine of the Touar and the Tidikelt, whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" 128X , meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammes of the Tuareg landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (*Imperata cylindrica*) or of "berdi" (*Typha angustifolia*) and little houses of baked earth.

The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm.



Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the "chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. 172 173 764

Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of those absent. 769 787

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the



Harratine Huts at Ideles  
(Koudia)

[342]

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine (probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves. 777 174

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/ 172

and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *felli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud (*tajahant*) so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tasall-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of wheels (*tanout*) from which water is drawn by zebu (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling (*edamous*) and a square hut (*skerber*) covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. - Urvoy 1936, p. 138ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

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601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 q).

563  
342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut (*tatramt*), which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut (*terhira*) with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut (*ehen*) covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house (*tarachant*) with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 196a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells (*anou*) by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight (*aroudit*) (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 196a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays surri-

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Fig. 5.—Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats. [643] [137]

Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif. [175] [643]

In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing [114]

[text continues on p. 87]

given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 950. 614  
[27]  
162

A clan is generally termed *tasuit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. [196]  
[611]

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 19). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621  
596  
[342]

- 1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
- 2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
- 3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
- 4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season (*akasa*) and in the beginning of the following dry season (*farat*) several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221  
361  
621  
[173]

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occurred also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin - ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows: 582  
614  
582

|                                                    |    |
|----------------------------------------------------|----|
| Mother's brother's daughter.....                   | 7  |
| Father's sister's daughter.....                    | 4  |
| Classificatory cross-cousins.....                  | 6  |
| Other kinwomen.....                                | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife.... | 8  |

Marriages total... 38

Aggar

173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to  
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaïen). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

[114] I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

184 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and  
565 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's  
492 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much importance  
[234] to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble  
Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,  
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:- 1) In noble  
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels; in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25-30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas  
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble  
• [342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post - that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

[614] These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-  
[173] breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. - Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently  
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. - Lhote

1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. - Foucauld 1931-32, I, p. 247ff. - Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 237). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei - Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. - Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 34ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents.

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) - a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944-45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories: - 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa.

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following: -

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. - Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafose 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers.

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

171 and in skin tents, and according to my investigations this is, or was, also the case of  
342 the Arab pastoral tribe Ouled Ba Hamou in Tidikelt.

3) In Northern Africa T-shaped posts are frequently found in permanent dwellings, but they are then solidly embedded in the ground, whereas in Tuareg skin tents and also in black tents they stand on the surface.

4) The use of skin for tents or other movable dwellings is no doubt of very great age (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144), while the T-shaped posts can be considered as belonging to a highly developed tent construction. To my mind there is a certain contrast in this, the more so as the posts or poles of other Tuareg skin tents are fixed in the ground.

5) Arab pastoralists now living in Tuareg countries frequently use Tuareg mat-covered huts and skin tents. Of particular interest is the type of skin tent used by the Deremchaka Arabs living among the Eastern Ioullemmeden (the Kel Dinnik). To support the sheet of skin sewn together these Arabs use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two oblique poles (Nicolas 1950a, p. 154). A similar or related construction is found in black tents of the Brakna Arabs (Caillie 1830, I, p. 130), and is common in black tents of Algeria including the northern parts of Algerian Sahara (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff.). And according to tradition the Deremchaka Arabs immigrated from these regions (Nicolas 1950a, p. 67ff.). There seems to be little doubt that the Deremchaka Arabs have adopted a mode of construction typical of certain black tents to the Tuareg skin tent, and there may perhaps be another example of this among the Southern Tuareg: The Tuareg known as Kel Antassar in the region of Timbuktu frequently use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two central oblique posts to support their skin tents (Lhote 1947, p. 39, 101, 117). The Kel Antassar Tuareg are of religious status; [174] their presumed Arab origin (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 195. - Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210ff. - Richer 1924, p. 14) gives rise to the supposition that they formerly had black tents.

I think these five arguments support the theory that T-shaped posts are foreign to Tuareg skin tents while customary for black tents in use among certain Arabs of Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 209ff. - Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff., 146).

171 I shall now turn to the other theory to be tested, namely that there is a certain  
233 relation between the camel and the black tent. This theory is not easy to prove.  
342 The statement that camels and black tents have approximately the same distributions is far from convincing even if we keep to their westernmost areas. In Northern Africa camel-breeders over large areas use other types of dwelling, and black tents are very common among settled and semi-nomadic people of the Atlas, where there are no camels. The distribution of the black tent in Africa (cf. Feilberg 1944, map. II) comes indeed very close to the distribution of Arabic-speaking people, with the main exception that black tents in the Atlas and elsewhere in the north are also used by Berbers. Laoust has proved that some of these northern  
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Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 227f.). 171  
342  
[192]

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:—"Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs nouveaux maîtres: au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920-28, V, p. 216. - cf. El Bekri p. 139). [174]

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together. 171  
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Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925-26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. - Walz 1951). 114  
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Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. - cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:— 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc  
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale  
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau appa-  
raissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant  
l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs  
tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe,  
il semble qu'au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement  
que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227).

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chame-  
liers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui  
fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the  
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the  
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:  
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group  
and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several  
Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I,  
p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature  
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding  
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. - Edrisi p. 11, 67f.; 144f. - Leo Africanus p. 940f.).  
To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly  
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is  
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also  
superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and  
on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very  
different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as  
mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds ap-  
parently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the  
heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I,  
p. 415f. - Murray 1935, p. 92ff. - Cauvet 1925-26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the  
true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black  
tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another  
[177] breed was introduced before the Arabs.  
[342]

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As  
I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many  
customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African  
cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. - Herskovits 1926. - Kroll 1928). The common  
[462] traits seem to be the following:- 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is  
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their  
[538] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both  
camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently character-  
ised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans  
Pritchard 1940. - Foucauld 1925-30, I-11).

Pritchard 1940. - Foucauld 1903-30, I-II). 3) As mentioned (p. 119) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Montell 1932, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking - for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. - Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1932, p. 103).

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country - in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. - Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. - Barth 1857-58, I, p. 379f., 597f., V, p. 201. - Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. -



Fig. 12.—Tuareg skin tent in a river valley of the Ahaggar Mountains. The sheet of skin sewn together is placed over three parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar. The middle pair is higher than the outer pairs. It may be substituted with two equally high pairs of posts with crossbars, or with two arches. Tuareg skin tents have mats to be drawn round the tent under the sheet of skin, and in winter the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently erect stone walls for protection against cold winds, as shown on this photograph.

184 Hourst 1898, p. 195ff., 133. — Gabus 1945, p. 361. — Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII-  
342 XXXIII p. 218. — Le Coeur 1937, p. 42f. — Urvoy 1942, p. 33f., pl. 1).

[171] Mat-covered arched huts or tents are found only among the Southern Tuareg,  
342 and as such dwellings are found among many of their Sudanese neighbours it might seem natural to consider them foreign to traditional Tuareg culture. However, the arched mat-covered tent of the Tuareg seems to be constructionally distinct from other barrel-vaulted dwellings. It consists of one to three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of two or three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. A number of very slender curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and to the horizontal crossbars (cf. fig. 13). An arched hut of the same type, although more elaborate and solid, is found in certain Kel Owi villages (fig. 13) as already mentioned p. 77, while the use of crossbars is apparently unknown to other peoples who have barrel-vaulted huts (*The Sonrai*: — Barth 1857-58, V, p. 160, 163, 165f. — Dubois 1897, p. 232f.; 171 1911, p. 33. — Gabus 1948, p. 10. — Olufsen 1928, p. 137. — Prost 1954, p. 184ff. — 342 Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3. — Aymard 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; 1908, p. 183. — *The Fulani and*

● 342



Fig. 13.-Tuareg women of Air erecting the skeleton of a mat-covered arched tent. It consists of three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. Curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and at their ends to the horizontal crossbars. Tuareg skin tents with the exception of those provided with T-shaped posts have possibly developed from similar constructions. - The erection of tents among the Tuareg is done by women.

171 the *Toucouleurs*: Urvoy 1952, pl. II, 4. - Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396. - *The*  
342 *Teda or Tebu*: - Le Coeur 1937, p. 39; 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99. - Despois 1946,  
pl. XXII. - Kronenberg 1959, pl. III).

342 Tuareg arched tents may also be covered with skin as they are among the  
Tenguerreguif Tuareg around Tîmbuktu. These Tuareg have a very peculiar arch  
construction which also contains crossbars resting on sticks (Lhote 1947, p. 100,  
photographs 85-93). In Ahaggar arched tents were formerly extremely common, and  
may occasionally be seen even nowadays. Their construction consists of two arches  
which may be placed between and parallel to a pair of crossbars each resting on  
the tops of two sticks (Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 247. - Benhazera 1908, p. 26. -  
Lhote 1947, p. 42f.; 1955, p. 256. - Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 103f.). In Ahaggar I  
[565] have been told that arched skin tents were formerly used by all vassals, who did  
not have T-shaped posts to support their tents. But arched tents were also used  
by some noble Tuareg. The mat-covered arched tents among certain Ioullemmeden  
Tuareg are apparently used particularly by vassals (Barth 1857-58, I, p. 372f. -  
Gabus 1948, p. 361), but they are also in frequent use among noble Tuareg. In Air  
the most common type of dwelling to all Tuareg whatever their social class is the



Fig. 14.—The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. — This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59-64). Gabus claims this dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in Ahaggar and Adrar-n-Iforas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f., photographs 7-8, 11-13, 20-21.; 1955, p. 254ff. — Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6-7. — Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. — Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857-58, I, p. 257. — Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 104).

Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with

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[565]

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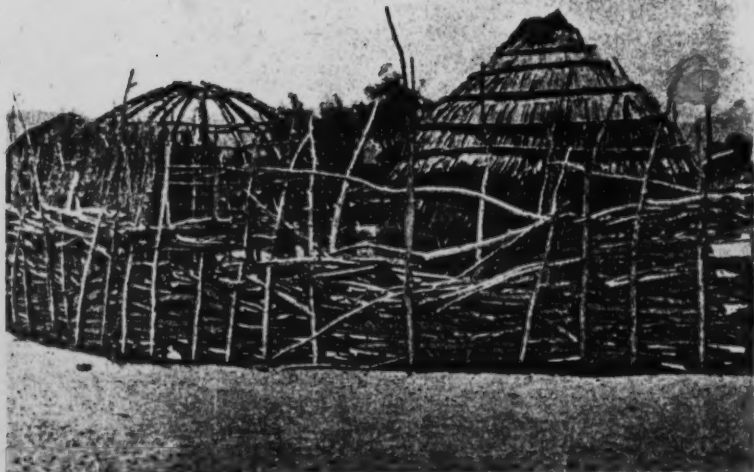
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Fig. 15.-Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Ifrouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania  
233 in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction - most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. - Feilberg 1944, p. 202f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and  
[342] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern  
[565] Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above  
[184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Thaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different  
[192] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheyen*, sing. *Amachey*). I have also

241 /75 cont. / is always the same: in a living wadi, between two rock shelves. They are to be found, then, within a radius of about 100 kilometers from the upper summits of the Atakor.

The gardens string out along the wadi, using to the best advantage the cultivable and irrigable land. An impressive checkerboard of guemouns served by lines of foggaras and séguías testifies to the industry of the harratin. The green patches of early wheat among the grayish natural vegetation make a curious sight; this verdure seems unreal. The agricultural centers are always found in picturesque surroundings. The villages have rare houses of toubs or of dried bricks,

● [342] but more common are tahli zéribas /reed shelters/. Misery there is endemic, and the word "destitution" takes on its [511] most absolute sense here.

[262] I have personally known families, one of them with  
[511] nine children, who knew upon getting up in the morning, at certain times of the year, that they had nothing to eat during the coming day and that it would be the same the next day and the days after that. Only the charity of one of their fellows, scarcely any better off, would save them from starvation.

It is true that lack of foresight is a determining factor in bringing about this destitution, but it is not the only factor; one must also cite the low fertility of the soil, the frequent lack of sufficient water, above all after a long dry period, the conditions of the agricultural contract which in effect prevent the hartani from developing a passionate interest in his land, and, lastly, the limited views and complete lack of initiative that characterize the harratin. It must be noted that the Tuareg are hostile to the development of agriculture; this hostility is scarcely a reasoned one; it is a matter of a kind of nomadic atavism, augmented by a desire to keep the traditional practices intact, and also by a fear of seeing the Ahaggar penetrated by foreigners who, undoubtedly, could make the land produce and, in particular, develop the /76/ palm groves, but who would not be hereditarily subordinate to their authority.

233 /85 cont. / When the Tuareg want to recapture some of these animals, they organize veritable battues and must use a great deal of cleverness and energy to succeed. It is necessary to break these donkeys in order to fit them for domestic use, for many of them are born wild.

It is estimated that there are 5,000 donkeys in the Ahaggar, but this figure is certainly too conservative.

[262] The flesh of the donkey is not eaten, nor is the milk of the female drunk.

A few horses, most of them originating in the Sudan, are to be found in certain agricultural centers. A "luxury" animal, the horse (ais) cannot live off the Ahaggar pastures. When well nourished with barley, it bears the climate perfectly well and can be used as a mount in the mountains of the Ahaggar where water points are numerous.

231 Lastly, chickens are raised by the harratin in all the agricultural centers; they are lean fowl which find practically all of their own food. The harratin chiefly eat the eggs, [437] rather rarely the meat, which is sold to the Europeans.

/87/

#### IV Material Life

##### Dwelling

342 The Tuareg, as true nomads, use the tent for habitation, and sometimes, in exceptional circumstances, the zériba.

281

The Tuareg tent is made of skins sown together and specially prepared. Its red tint, which harmonizes with the dominant tones of the Ahaggar landscape, is agreeable to the eye. For making the tent (éhakit), goat, sheep, wild sheep, and, very rarely, cattle skins are used; the skins of wild sheep are considered the best. After being stripped of its hair, the

- 342 /87 cont. / skin is lightly tanned with tamat or adjar leaves, then smeared with butter to make it supple. After these
- 281 operations, the red tint is added in the following way:  
"tamadjouhit," a sort of red clay, is mashed up with camel dung; with the powder thus obtained, the still greasy skin is rubbed until the desired color is obtained. The skin is then soaked in water for two days so that it may be stretched, smoothed out, flattened, cut, and sewed. The women of the camp undertake this last task; they all pitch in to work, joking, talking, and the work gets done at a good rate. One tent may have from 30 to 120, or even 150, skins. Strands of fine leather thongs, artistically cut, called "balenkassen," hang from the top, giving the inside /88/ of the tent a novel effect. The tent is supported by six vertical wooden stakes,
- 342 1. 50 meters high, sticking about 20 centimeters into the ground. These vertical stakes are joined in pairs by three horizontal bars; the stakes are attached to each other with cords made from plaited goat hair. The tent rests on these stakes and is anchored at the edges by smaller stakes or large stones. The front of the tent, facing south, is generally open, and the sides are attached to tall, vertical stakes, the tops of which are often carved. On the inside the tent wall is lined with an "asaber," a kind of long mat made with stalks of "afazzou" (a grass). Making an asaber is a job requiring a great deal of patience; first the afazzou must be gathered with care taken to choose the longest stalks; then the stalks are assembled in pairs, being tied with previously prepared narrow leather thongs, with one thong around the top and another around the bottom of the stalks. The asaber is about 80 centimeters wide, with thongs wrapped around the stalks every three or four centimeters. The length varies from seven to eight meters, or exactly four times the height of a man with
- [531] his arms upraised. The top border of the asaber is decorated with a band of leather interwoven with geometric designs. Two women take about a year to do this work.

● 342 /88 cont./ It takes three or four asabers to furnish a tent, two on the inside filter the wind, two others encircle the space in front of the tent, forming a small court, assuring privacy and a space sheltered from the wind, where someone is always to be found.

When one enters a tent, one sees that the right side is always the man's domain and the left side the woman's; each arranges his personal effects in an orderly fashion that is always surprising to the European.

342 About 50 meters away or more, but always within hailing  
361 distance, live the Negroes in an enclosure of dry branches called "afarra"; another enclosure next to it constitutes the kitchen.

A camp is made up of a number of tents of this type, /89/ with some distance between tents to preserve privacy.

During the dry season, when the search for pastures becomes compelling, the Tuareg are obliged to stop at a place near water, where the goats may find some meager pasturage. The black domestics then construct zéribas. They make a framework of forked branches, from two to 2.50 meters high, circular or almost so, with a diameter varying from three to five meters. Around and on this frame are attached tahlis (tiphās); the zériba then has an elegant appearance. If there are not enough tahlis, one gets along with other dry grasses, morakba, guettaf, etc.; the zériba then has a shabby appearance, but its merits as a dwelling are not lessened. In summer the zériba is much to be preferred to a tent, for it is much cooler.

The ground under the tent or zériba is always covered with  
342 coarse sand from the wadi, which is frequently changed. A  
356 hearth, consisting of four stones arranged in a square and imbedded in the ground, is used either to heat tea or to provide a little heat during winter evenings. Near the tents stakes  
344 support the guerbas /waterskins/; one may also see the wood-  
356 pile kept up by the Negroes and the big wooden mortar which  
342

356  
342/89 cont. / awaits its ration of millet, but one never sees any  
[354] disorder or rubbish. A camp may have been at a site for a few  
hours or for several months; but on the day of its departure  
there is never the least broken object left at the place; the  
Tuareg leave behind them neither domestic refuse nor any  
other mark of their presence.

- 342 The tent is occupied by the family in the most limited  
sense of the term. When a man marries he takes a tent and  
[542] lives in it with his wife; children up to nine years of age stay  
with their parents, but after that they have their own tent.

In the agricultural centers the harratin lodge either in a  
zériba of tahli, made like that of the Tuareg, or in a house  
constructed with toubs or with stones held together with tin  
(clay). The house is covered with a coat of tin spread on a  
foundation of tahli supported by a framework of fersig or /90/  
éthel branches; the roof is flat. The door generally opens  
toward the west, and there is a small opening to the east;  
this system protects the houses from the heat of the midday sun.  
Such a structure would be unhealthy in other climates; here it  
doesn't matter, the family lives outdoors. In winter everyone  
huddles together at night around a fire in the single room in  
order to keep as warm as possible, but all leave the house at  
sunrise. The floor of these houses is covered with fine gravel  
from the wadi, and this is changed fairly often. The vicinity  
of the hartani dwelling is much less clean than that of the  
Tuareg tent; ashes are scattered about and refuse dries in  
the sun.

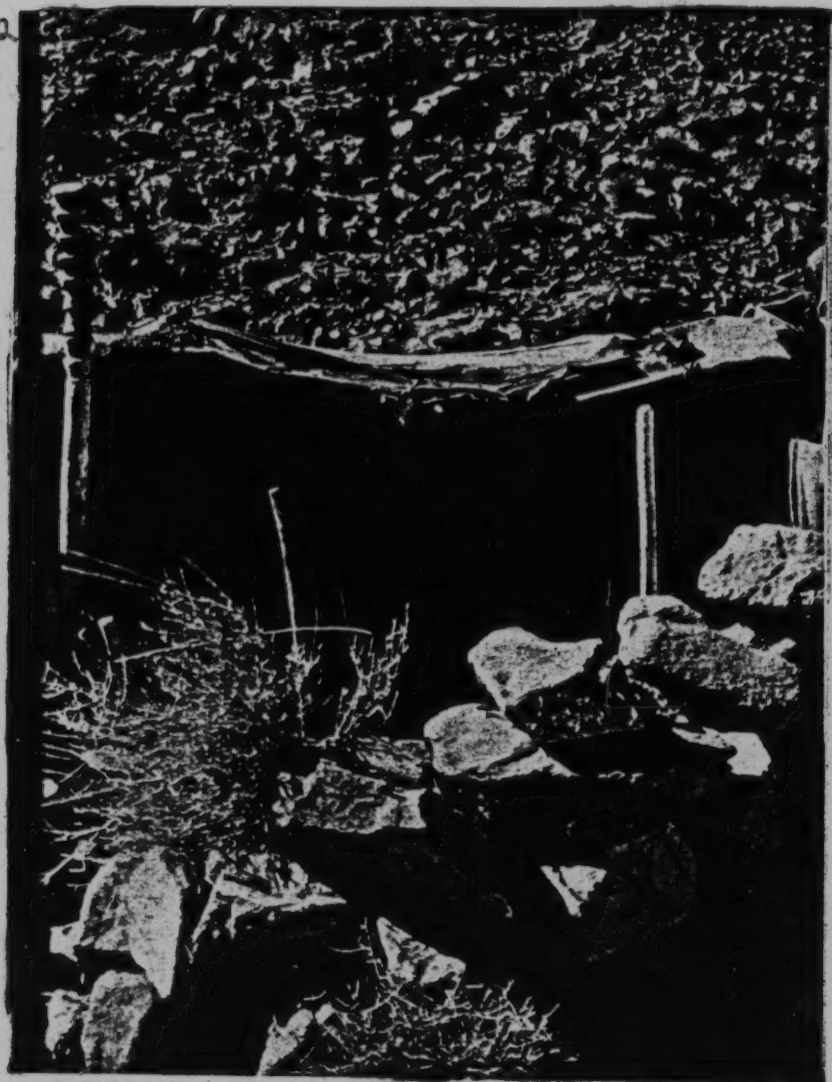
000 Only Tamanrasset has houses used by Europeans. Toubs  
are always used to construct them, although recently atone  
plastered with tin has been tried for certain administration  
buildings. Up to now the lack of lime has hindered "hard"  
construction; attempts have been made to make lime from  
cipolin, but the cost per kilogram is nearly as high as for lime  
imported from Algiers.

342



20a. Tuareg camp. [left - see p. 207]  
[p. 206]

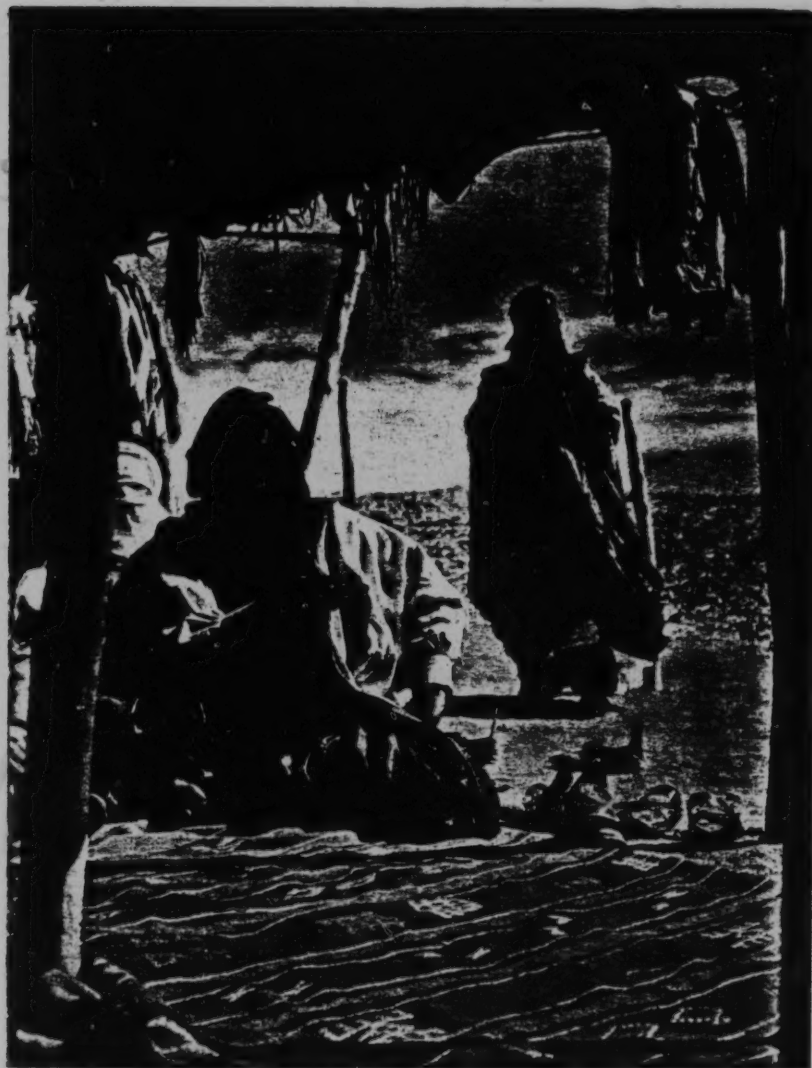
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20b.

[p. 207] [right - see p.206]

342



21. Tent of the amenokal.

[P. 208]

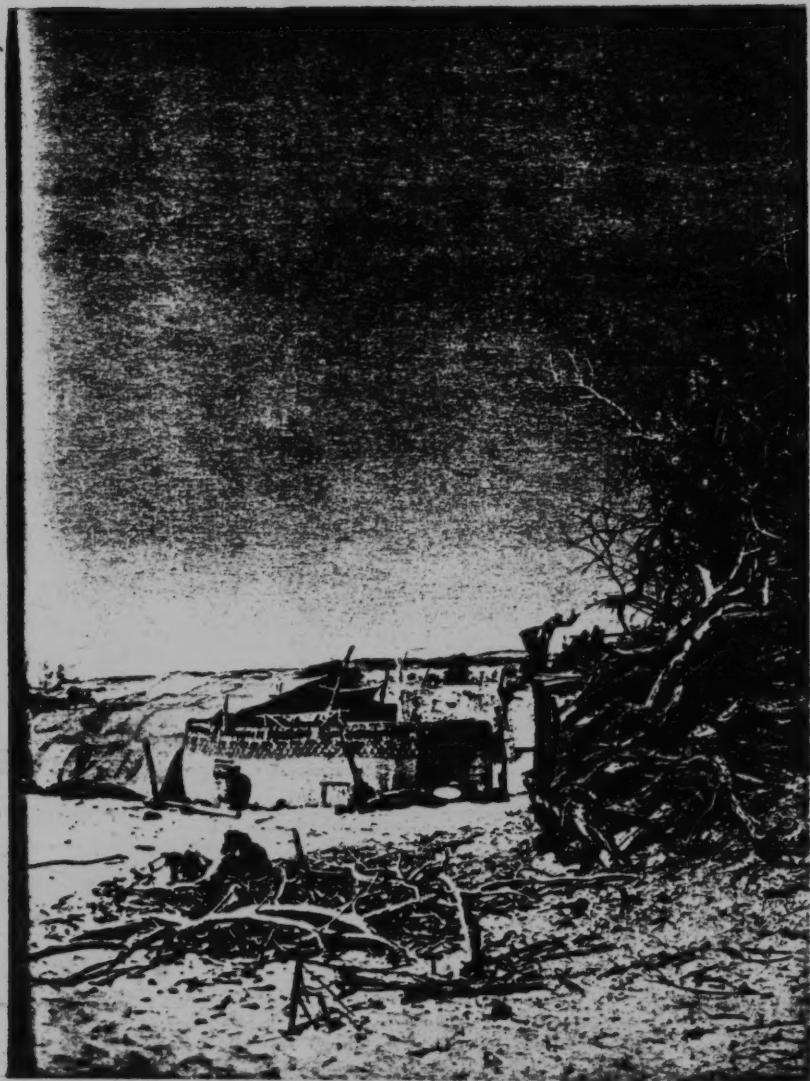
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31. Zériba in the Ideles oasis.

[p. 218]

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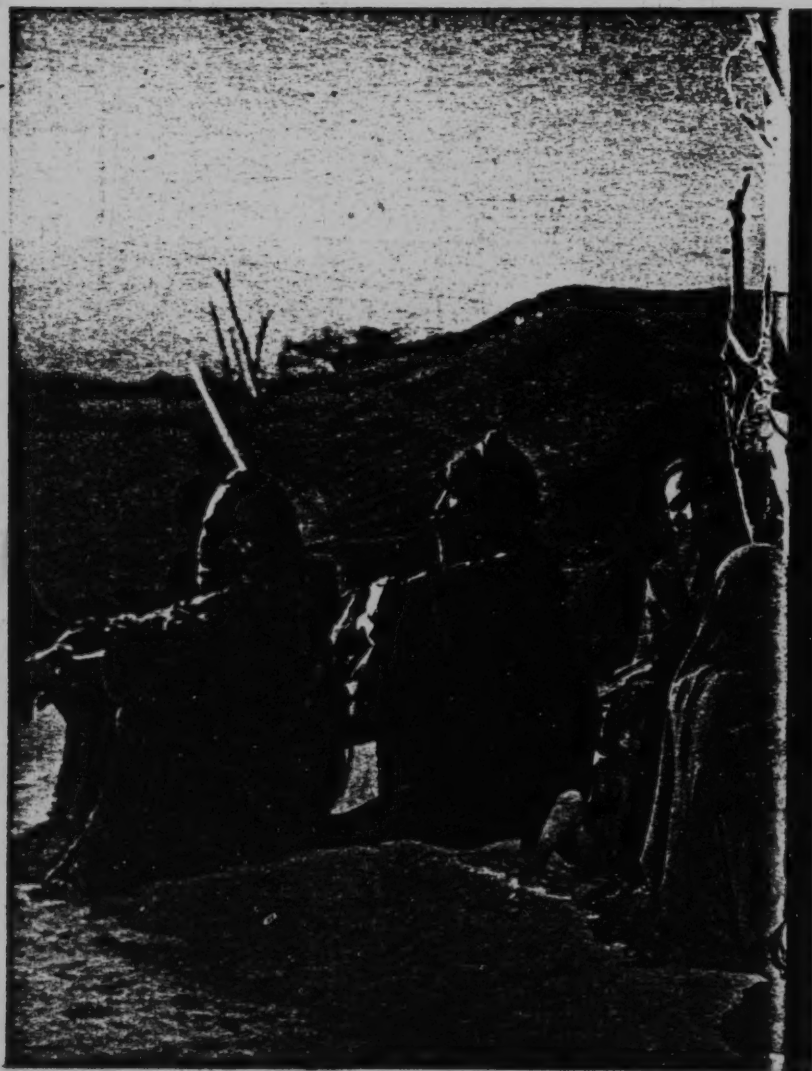


32. Tuareg tent.

[p. 219]

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52a. Camp in the morning.

[p. 240] [left - see p. 241]

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342



[415]

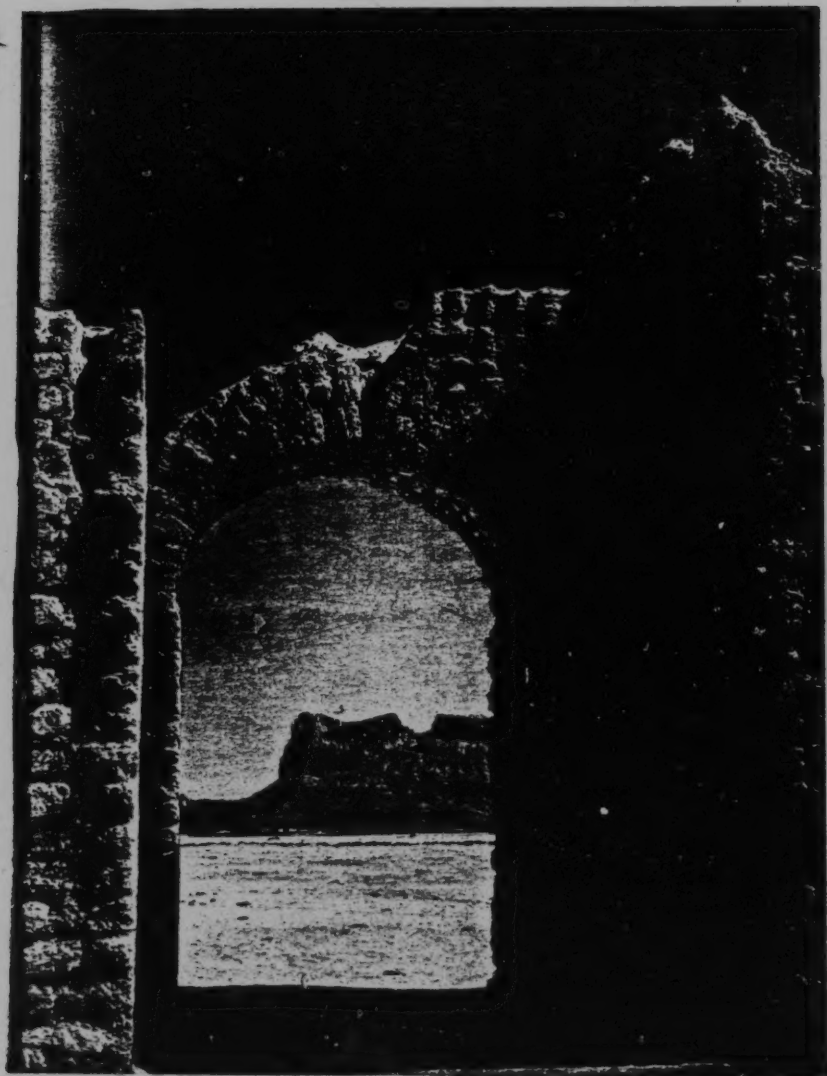
52b.

[p. 241]

[right - see p. 240]

342

341



54. Door of Moussa ag Amastane's house (present abode of the Inaden).

[p. 243]

7: Nicolaisen

MS25 Tuareg MS25

342

[For additional detailed information concerning Tuareg dwellings and dwelling types, see category 116, pp. 327-391.]

## Goat Terms

35

These terms are used frequently in discussions of prices. Thus a blacksmith will claim that the price of an axe is *asoleg* (*adewel*) while for the manufacture of smaller objects or for certain repairs he will only claim *suxf* or *dryd*.

By the combination of age and colour terms, if necessary with the addition of a covering to certain other characteristics, the Tuareg are able to describe the exact appearance of any animal. Goat-terms have a practical value in enabling the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. A few of the terms indicating colour and other characteristics in Ahaggar are mentioned below:—

*Characteristics*

Black animal . . . . .

Red animal . . . . .

Black animal with a red belly . . . . .

Animal white on the hind part, and black on the fore-part of the body . . . . .

Black animal with white colour on the lower part of the legs . . . . .

Black animal with a white blaze . . . . .  
(Foscoald, 1951-52, III p. 1194 f., states that this term is used for horses, donkeys, camels, and oxen, but he does not mention goats and sheep)

Black animal with white colour on the ears . . . . .

Animal of any colour having very small ears . . . . .

Animal of any colour having no horns . . . . .

*Female**tasejfeft**tézeggeḡ**takahamti**téḡeḡé**tageburt**tamulast**tahreyt**tadermak**tahiyawit**Male**asejfeftu**ézeggeḡ**akahamti*

(No term for males which never have this combination of colours)

*aḡbur**amulast**ahrey**adermag**abiyawi*

Fig. 16. A flock of southern, short-haired goats during migration. The women seen in the middle of the picture ride on ox loaded with arches of a barrel-vaulted mud tent. From Damaou south of Ayr.



342  
492

*Meat, Hide, and Hair . Size of Goat Flocks*

41

younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. 233\*  
[262]

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.). 237  
[415]  
[26]  
[342]  
[291]

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a-b). [283]  
[286]

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of 233\*  
128



Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akara, areghes*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tasile-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terarit* tribe.

\*233 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider  
 P24 a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the  
 137 *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely  
 132 covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also  
 133 claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial  
 influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of  
 acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor*  
 zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has  
 annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experienced and it also has valuable  
 pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and  
 fuel can be found everywhere. But the *Abada* country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and  
*Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more  
 frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far  
 the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on  
 the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the  
 lower parts of the valleys which are always-flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.  
 \*233 A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Taçulet*).  
 P24 They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture.  
 [132] In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are  
 perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal  
 grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Agh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Itheyawen Huka*,  
 and the *Kel Relu*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in  
 [142] *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in  
 the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are  
 two tribes (*Téghé-n-Efis* and *Ikhan-en-tawit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all  
 the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes  
 may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks  
 remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely  
 \*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent  
 [56] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar,  
 [24] notably in the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently  
 [56] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar - just the animals needed for riding  
 and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary  
 to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process.

\*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but  
 237 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year  
 [36] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

## Tribal Sections in Ahaggar

147

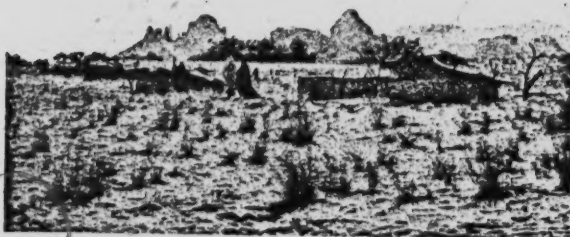
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\* 233  
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Fig. 106. A small goat-herding camp of three related households. The inmates have not erected their skin tents, but have their luggage and their household utensils hanging upon posts (left). In the hot daytime the people live in the shade of the rock (right). Ahaggar (the *Atakor* zone), the *Dag Rali* tribe (the *Kel Tamanasset* section).



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Fig. 107. A camp of four skin tents. Tasile-n-Ajjer, the *Ura-ya* tribe.



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621  
\* 233

*Atakor* zone. In this area kin groups of five or six generations, comprising about twenty tents, may form a section camp for long periods. Thus I was told that all members of the *Kel Tamanasset* section camped together in the same place for eight months of the year 1952. Among the Tuareg, who have their grazing grounds mainly in the *Abada* country, section camps are not so easily formed as annual pasture springs up less frequently. People of such tribes as the *Ikkan-en-tawast*, the *Téghet-n-Efis*, and part of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe, generally live in goat-camps, which are often smaller than those of the *Dag Rali* tribe of the *Atakor* region. Where goats feed mainly on acacias it is not possible to keep such large flocks together as when grazing consists of fresh or dry annual plants. Acacia leaves are very important for fodder and their fruit-pods are still more valuable, but the trees grow scattered and consequently fodder is not so concentrated. We see again how stock-breeding among the Ahaggar Tuareg is an industry adapted to environment. The size of camps is determined by natural conditions.

124

## Tribal Sections and Territories in Ahaggar

151

Fig. 108: A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Taslé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhei* tribe (*Jesh-kamaren*).



423 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different  
422 rules (cf. list p. 148).  
224

423 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for  
421 sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukul* because, it is said, the  
*Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Agah-en-tehlé* tribe the  
tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a  
crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

685 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukul*, the indemnity  
643 falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the  
violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukul*. When a tenant  
423 dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally  
421 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the  
613 tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional  
rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary  
[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to  
forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two  
tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

\* 422 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property  
233 marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark.  
[422] However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception  
of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only  
camels and donkeys, and branding with a red-hot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used  
for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the  
*Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the  
[113] *Willemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and  
Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and



Fig. 109. A family camp of four barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the Igendeynen tribe.

\* 422  
233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

[565] (2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawden* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

6/4 [597] The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawtit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

361 akasa period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions  
 621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain  
 221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the akasa period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawar.

#### DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts  
 565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-  
 567 bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a vassal camp:—

462 One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are  
 \*233 connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all imple-  
 567 ments connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when  
 \*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a  
 567 few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

## Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less consequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical analysis of Tuareg culture. 224  
[4/1]  
[21]

### AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle (*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkof*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*ulad*; *Ammotragus leiria*). The big gazelle (*énir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amelhal*; *Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*anhél*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated. 136  
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The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household - in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels. 224  
[262]  
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Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers (Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and [257]  
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[2157]

## Agriculture without Irrigation

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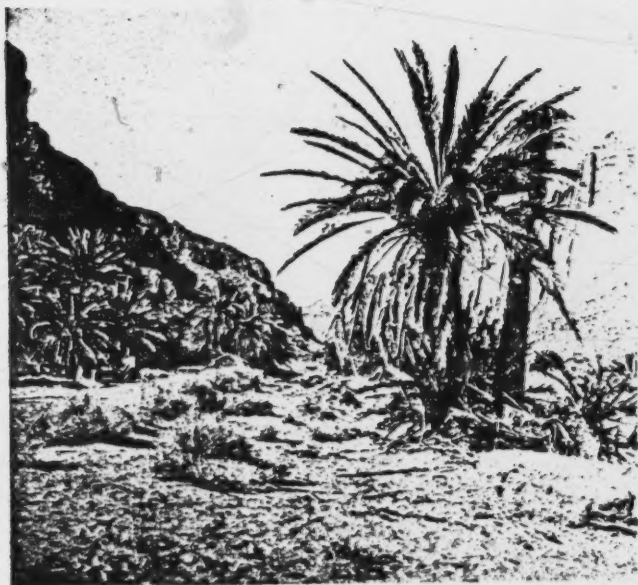
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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tassit-a-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Eherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral  
 [221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with  
 [342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in  
 245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Rali* tribe  
 423 (the sections of *Kel Tamasasset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the  
 [651] *Ikechekewagen*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amemkal* of Ahaggar one bunch  
 [565] of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms  
 [651] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalra*). For usufructs,  
 [245] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amemkal* comprising four  
 [221] bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by  
 [492] Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September.<sup>3</sup> Harvesting is done with sickles and is  
 [564] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags  
 [465] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-  
 [463] skinned agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates  
 for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf.  
 p. 338 f.).

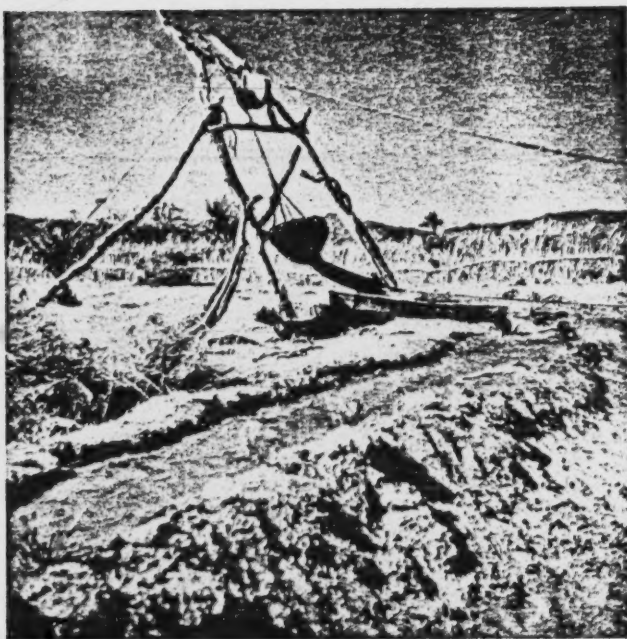
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2/1

Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *sanut*. Ahaggar, Amsel.

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settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a; p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases, and in certain families there are one or two zebras to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agriculturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

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The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan* (sing. *efeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these *foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their introduction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara* are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a considerable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., L6 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958). The Ahaggar *foggara* are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*jazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*ndella*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, Ahl Azzi Arabs.

from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agricultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857, I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These *Sonray*-speaking people of Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésem towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.

Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages belong to the group of *KelEwey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *KelEwey* Tuareg originally came from the north as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking population that subsisted on agriculture.

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[174]

## Liquid Dishes

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among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, 262 that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *isawen*. It is considered 846 dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision 282 until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs. 304

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot 262 season. A very common dish of this type is that named *arejira* (Ayr) or *arehara* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk 842 by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamular* (Fig. 194a-b). This liquid dish is a substitute for 257 milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating.

The terms *arejira* and *arehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded 252



Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*testri*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the Dog Bell tribe.

[Text continues on p. 247]

## Other Vegetable Dishes . Meals

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as *seyint* (Ayr) or *selekkin* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make earthenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *sebk* (Ahaggar) or *tiderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *tingimint* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekili* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *arehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amegiu* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *azuzeg*. It is the most important meal.



Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*kuskus*) in an European enameled pot. Ahaggar, the Dog Sali tribe.

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## Basketry

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may be seen in Fig. 167a-b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a). 285  
[413]

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a-c, 210a-b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices. [184]  
[432]  
[266]

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*agum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*aleguiguen*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). This basket type (*tésenti*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals. [224]  
[413]  
[262]  
[184]  
[413]  
[171]  
[445]\*

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éserber* or *téserbert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*télabut*) (Fig. 212a-b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south. [224]  
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[462]  
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[462]  
[222]  
[438]

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitutes the most important craft in the 281

## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has  
 614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie  
 (14) 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480).  
 My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my  
 list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each  
 with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past  
 are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore  
 (62) quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging  
 from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,  
 634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when  
 648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French  
 in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to  
 121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,  
 634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were  
 115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum-group  
 a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who  
 seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly  
 correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,  
 614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above  
 634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel*  
 married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition



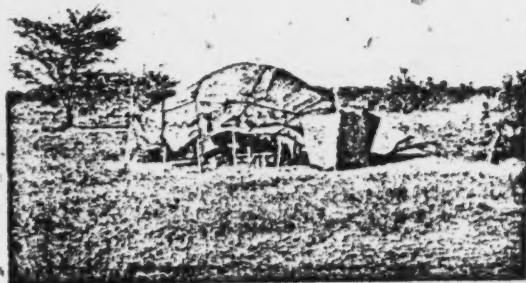
Fig. 233. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdyanen*. This story runs as follows:—

The three sisters left their original homeland of *Awjila* riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from *Iferwan* and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas*'s, and when the sisters arrived at *Iferwan* she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At *Iferwan* there was then a mighty chief named *Azezezz*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tamejit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azezezz* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from *Iferwan* and her camel did not get tired until she was close to *Tagedufat* south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of *Tagedufat*, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from *Iferwan* in the north to the well of *Tagedufat* situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as *Tessawa*, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewsé* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:—

Fig. 289. Mat tent of the B.1.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of *Aderbissinat* at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.



634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,  
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to  
[171] mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,  
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral  
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwillemeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imrad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imrad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.  
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25-30 goats. (2) The [233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, donkeys are marked in [422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be [342] peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoier known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps [293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among [262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not [224] refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and [174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks [233] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering, [462]

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and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work. <sup>565</sup><sub>462</sub>

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasile-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857-58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons - the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857-58, I, p. 257). <sup>565</sup><sub>411</sub>

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman. <sup>565</sup>

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwlemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857-58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwlemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457). <sup>(428)</sup>

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits. <sup>(271)</sup>

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced <sup>177</sup>

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Fig. 290. Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution. According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Rali* and in the *Kel Rela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.

## Slavery

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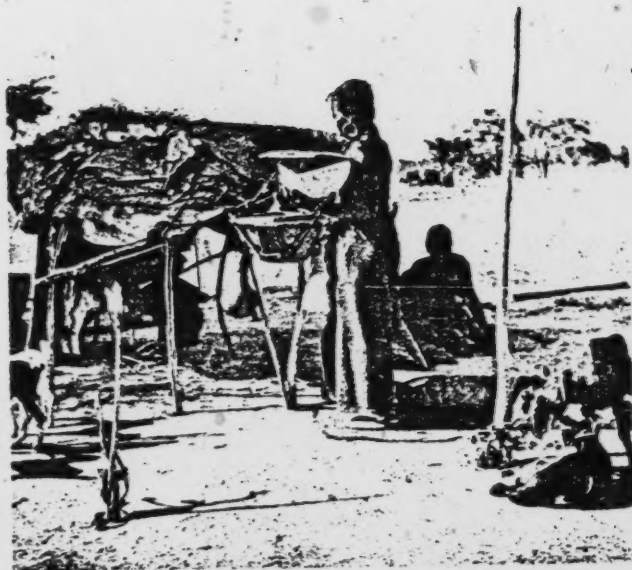
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Fig. 291. Sun-shade built by slaves in Ayr on the same principle as the mat tents previously mentioned. The standing slave girl only wears a cotton skirt which sometimes in the south forms the sole dress of women. Ayr, the *Irawatten* tribe.

It is, however, rare for a slave to be punished in this way by his own master. Throughout the time I <sup>567</sup> have lived among the Tuareg I have, for example, only noted two instances of corporal punishment, and both in a very mild form. It is also very normal in vassal camps for slave children and Tuareg children to play together, and a slave owner may treat his slave children in much the same way as his own.

There are several reasons why the Tuareg, practically speaking, never punish their slaves, and a very interesting custom may here be adduced. For if a slave is badly treated, he has always the recourse of changing masters by means of a system which is still in operation to this day. In Ahaggar the way whereby a slave can obtain his freedom from his master and become attached to another Tuareg is as follows:— When he sees a riding camel belonging to a Tuareg whose slave he wishes to be, he runs up to it and cuts a piece from one of its ears. In consequence of this the owner of the camel is obliged to take possession of the slave, whose actual and original owner can no longer make any claim to recover him. This custom may appear remarkable, but it is in fact a symbolic action with a deeper significance: to cut a piece from the ear of another man's camel is to damage it, and a Tuareg is responsible for the actions of his slaves. The "guilty" slave therefore falls to the lot of the owner of the camel as "compensation" for the "damage" done to his beast, and the original owner of the slave is bound to agree to this. It is an extreme loss of prestige for a Tuareg to lose his slave in this way, <sup>[558]</sup> and is a great mark of honour for the new master, who will receive his slave with favour and give him

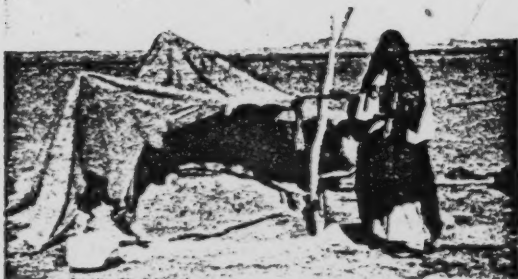
Wedding Ceremonies

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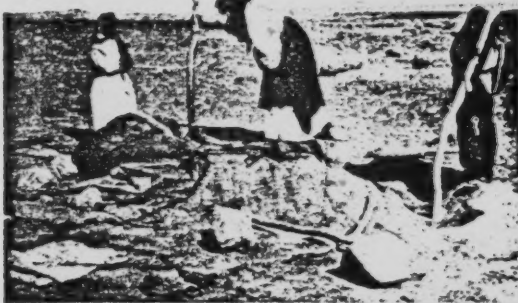
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Fig. 297a-c. From a wedding ceremony.

- a. A woman in front of the skin tent erected over the ceremonial sandhill (*adebel*) on which the couple to be married sit during the first wedding night.



- b. The skin tent is removed from the ceremonial sandhill, which is left untouched.



- c. The tent correctly erected with the married couple sitting upon the low sandhill (*tuf-adebel*). The groom sits to the left of the central tent post, the bride to the right. Both groom and bride are veiled. Ahaggar, the *Iheyawen* Hade tribe.

